39th Anniversary Of Russian Revolution

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THE MILITANT

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DOBBS DEMANDS HANDS OFF EGYPT!

World Labor Must Support Egypt

An Editorial

All the recent capitalist propaganda about Western imperialism and colonialism being a thing of the past, a phenomenon of the 19th Century, has gone down the drain with the invasion of Egypt. There is nothing in the last century's long list of colonial wars and imperialist land-grabbing that is any cruder than the current British-French-Israeli war against Egypt.

The facts are plain: British and French imperialism in collusion with the Israeli government made plans for an armed attack on Egypt. British and French forces were concentrated on the nearby island of Cyprus which Britain holds only by a reign of terror. Israel began a total military mobilization. When everything was ready the Israeli army invaded Egypt, heading toward Suez.

Quickly Britain and France declared that shipping in the Suez Canal was endangered by the hostilities and issued a 24-hour ultimatum that the Egyptians withdraw ten miles behind the canal while British and French troops took it over to "protect shipping." Israel quickly "accepted" the British-French ultimatum which would give it possession of the whole of Egypt's oil-rich Sinai peninsula. Egypt refused and appealed in vain to the United Nations. Thereupon Britain and France began bombing Egypt and rushing troops to the area.

The brutal aggression against Egypt and the slaughter that the imperialists have begun is motivated by imperialism's desire not only to control the profitable Suez Canal but to smash the mounting national independence movement of the Arab people which has been inspired by Egypt's nationalization of Suez.

The policy of the capitalist class which governs Israel is nothing less than criminal folly. Israel is an island of less than two million Jews surrounded by an ocean of 60 million Arabs yearning for freedom and progress. Yet in pursuit of territorial aggrandizement Ben Gurion and his fellow capitalists opposed the freedom struggle of the Arabs in North Africa and now do the dirty work of French and British imperialism against Egypt. Such a blind, reactionary policy can convert Israel into a death trap for the Jews who have sought refuge there.

Jewish workers in Israel and in the U.S. should, in justice to the struggle of the Arab people for independence from imperialism and in the interest of the people of Israel, do all in their power to repudiate the disastrous policy of Israel's insane capitalist politicians.

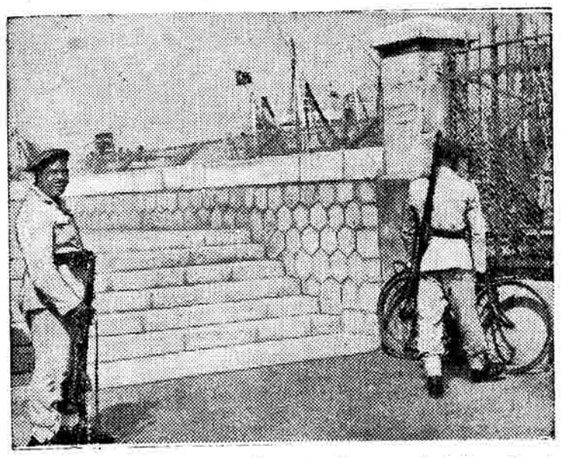
U.S. imperialism's non-participation in the invasion of Egypt should neither lull American workers to the danger of military involvement nor to U.S. responsibility for the invasion.

Eisenhower's television speech (Oct. 31) promising that the U.S. would not be militarily involved is not to be trusted. His promise carried a built-in escape clause. It was qualified by "in the circumstances I have described" and "these present hostilities." There is no guarantee of non-involvement if the "circumstances" change or if the "present hostilities" give way to a general war of all the Arab nations in defense of Egypt.

Eisenhower's statement was "neutral" on the side of British-French imperialism. He went out of his way to declare that they had "the manifest right" to invade Egypt. As the New York Times (Nov. 1) reported: "The President's long discussion of the Middle East crisis appeared designed in part to explain, if not to justify, the attacks on Egypt by the three powers."

The fact is that American financial and armaments aid, as in the case of the French war against the Algerian people, alone makes possible the British-French war against Egypt. American workers should demand that U.S. imperialism immediately cease subsidizing the attack upon the Egyptian people and that the U.S. Sixth Fleet, with its 20,000 sailors and marines, be immediately brought home from the Mediterranean.

Egypt's Troops Guard Suez



Regular troops shown above standing guard at Suez Canal after it was nationalized. Now British and French imperialism have opened warfare to seize Canal.

Workers Lead Uprising in Hungary; Set Up Local Revolutionary Councils

By Art Preis

OCT. 31—Hungary's workers, soldiers and students are in armed revolt against the Kremlin's brutal rule and for their national independence. For eight days, the working class and its allies have fought several divisions of Soviet troops armed with tanks and artillery. An estimated 10,000 to 15,000 revolutionists have been wounded or killed.

At this writing, a large section of Hungary is controlled by local revolutionary workers, soldiers and students councils. The government of Premier Imre Nagy, which originally denounced the uprising and invited the Russian troops into Budapest, is now hailing the revolutionists and promising sweeping concessions. These include withdrawal of Russian armed forces, the dissolution of the dread secret security police and the holding of free general elections.

KREMLIN SLANDER

The Khrushchev regime in the Soviet Union slanderously attacked the uprising as "counter-revolutionary" and "fascist." This was echoed early in the revolt by the new leader of the Hungarian government. On Oct. 25, in a radio speech, Nagy charged the uprising to "a limited number of counter-revolutionary trouble-makers," although he conceded the revolt was "supported by part of Budapest's workers, exasperated by the country's situation." Other leading Stalinist parties, like Togliatti's in Italy, also repeated the Kremlin's lies.

The U.S capitalist press likewise has tried to give the impression that the uprising is pro-capitalist. Thus, the Oct. 28 N.Y. Times called it "a bloody rising against not only Soviet domination **but communism itself."**

WORKING CLASS REVOLT

Although it may take weeks before the full information is disclosed, it is now possible to piece together a general picture of the class nature of the Hungarian uprising. **It is a revolt of the workers, above all. Their demands are directed first toward winning national independence and democratic rights. There is no hint of pro-capitalist sentiment in any of the revolutionary leaflets or statements. Almost all the declarations include the demand for "democratic socialism." The struggle was spearheaded by a general strike. In cities and towns under their control, the rebels have set up workers, soldiers, and students councils — that is, soviets.**

The events that sparked the uprising were the killing and wounding of unarmed demonstrators on Oct. 23 and 24. Students had gathered outside the Budapest radio station on Oct. 23 and asked that their 17-point program of democratic demands be broadcast. Police opened fire. The government, then dominated by Erno Gero, a notorious Kremlin tool, promptly called for Soviet troops. At the same time, Imre Nagy, who had previously been ousted from the government, was installed as Premier to help win back popular support for the regime.

On Wednesday, Oct. 24, Russian tanks and artillery fired on demonstrators in Budapest, killing and wounding hundreds of men, women and children. This provoked the revolutionary armed resistance. **According to a United Press dispatch from Vienna, Oct. 25, "discontent first flared into armed rebellion when workers on Csepel Island in the Danube took up weapons against security forces. This was the first report of where fighting actually started."**

This same report quoted Radio Budapest as stating that the uprising was a rebellion of the "working people." The radio made no mention of the "armed gangs" and "counter-revolutionaries" previously blamed. By October 29 the N.Y. Times correspondent in Vienna, Elie Abel, reported a "parade of workers' delegations from the provinces . . . each presenting its set of demands of the new Budapest government." They demanded removal of all Russian troops, unconditional amnesty for revolutionists, and the release of all political prisoners."

So overwhelming was working-class support of the uprising, that the Nagy regime felt by Oct. 29 that it was the better part of discretion to denounce Pravda, the Soviet Union's CP newspaper. Answering Pravda's lie that "the insurrection had been unleashed through the underground work of the Anglo-American imperialists," the official Hungarian Communist Party newspaper Szabad Nep said: "We can calmly state that this assertion by Pravda is an insult to the 1½ million people of Budapest. A large part of Budapest's population assisted, physically and morally, in last Wednesday's demonstration. . ."

Szabad Nep spoke now of "the five-day long bloody, tragic and yet magnificent fight. . ."

A close study of all available news sources reveals that the

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Workers Demand Free Socialist Poland

This huge gathering of Polish workers was held at the Zeran plant in Warsaw after the news broke on Oct. 21 that the Polish Communist Party leaders had set up a new regime in defiance of Kremlin edicts. Similar mass meetings of workers, students and soldiers were held throughout Poland and Hungary. In Hungary, the fierce struggle for complete national independence from Soviet bureaucratic domination was spearheaded by industrial workers on a socialist program of workers' democracy.

Calls for Withdrawal Of U.S. Troops, Fleet From the Middle East

NEW YORK, Nov. 1 — At tonight's wind-up campaign rally of the Socialist Workers Party in this city, Presidential candidate Farrell Dobbs denounced the British - French - Israeli invasion of Egypt as a bare-faced imperialist move to steal the Suez Canal from the Egyptian people and to smash the independence movement of the Arab people.

Dobbs called upon American workers to support Egypt's defense of its national rights. He demanded that Washington immediately withdraw the Sixth Fleet from its threatening position in the Mediterranean Sea and end the military and financial aid to French and British imperialism which makes the invasion of Egypt possible.

The SWP Presidential candidate declared: "The Israeli army's invasion of Egyptian soil is obviously part of a plot with the British and French imperialists to afford them an excuse, no matter how flimsy, for seizing the Suez canal. The hypocrisy of the imperialists stands revealed. In order to regain control of the profitable Suez Canal and to insure their grip on the oil fields of the Middle East the governments of France and Great Britain have not hesitated at the crudest military aggression, armed violence and the breaking of promises contained on that worthless scrap of paper known as the UN charter."

"I-LOVE-PEACE TALK"

Dobbs concluded by saying: "Let no one be taken in by the pre-election I-love-peace talk of Eisenhower. U.S. imperialism, though not yet militarily involved in the Middle East fighing, bears a prime responsibility for it. It was the U.S. State Department which began the diplomatic offensive against Egypt with the provocative withdrawal of its promised aid for the Aswan Dam.

When Egypt exercised its historical right to take over the Suez Canal Company, it was Dulles who originated that gangland protection scheme known as the Canal Users Association. **Temporarily split on tactics, U.S. imperialism and its British and French allies are pursuing the same end — destruction of the colonial revolution which has swept from Asia to the Middle East. Workers in the U.S., Britain and France must pursue the opposite aim — aiding the independence struggle of Egypt and the Arab people."**

FARRELL DOBBS

Sharing the platform with Dobbs was Clifford T. McAvoy, former American Labor Party leader who campaigned for the Socialist Workers ticket in this election. **He declared that the SWP deserves the support of every radical because it has campaign consistently for a labor party, has fought for genuine socialist democracy everywhere including the Soviet Union and has charted a path for effective socialist action based upon Leninist principles.**

FBI Has Refused To Act on Florida Kidnap-Lynching

The ghastly terror and brutality of the Jim Crow system is spotlighting Wildwood, Fla., where police have admitted there is "no doubt" that Jesse Woods, a 39-year-old Negro farm worker has been lynched. Mr. Woods was dragged out of an unattended jail, leaving a trail of blood.

Woods was arrested Oct. 27 on a "drunk and disorderly" charge after he allegedly said "hey honey" or "hey baby" to a white woman. He was released on bond about midnight and his family drove him home. Woods' sister told authorities that four carloads of white men followed their car. Whereupon Woods returned to the jail and requested that he be locked up for his own safety.

Patrolman E. H. Barry put him in a cell and then went out on his rounds. When he returned an hour later a small lock had been smashed, the cell bunk overturned and the floor spattered with blood. Woods was missing. Local residents said they were sure that two cars seen racing by at the time belonged to a lynch party.

The Sheriff has asked the FBI to join the investigation but federal agents promptly refused to do so, claiming "lack of jurisdiction."

In an Oct. 30 wire to Eisenhower, A. Philip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, declared: **"Since immediate action by the Department of Justice has been taken on kidnapping cases above the Mason-Dixon line within 24 hours after the kidnapping, we . . . urge that you use your great office to secure immediate action by the FBI and Justice Department in investigating this shocking and monstrous outrage against human decency and injustice."**

Soviet Union and the National Question

Trotsky Analyzed Burning Question Now Posed in Eastern Europe

Leon Trotsky

We are publishing herewith extensive excerpts from Leon Trotsky's articles on the slogan for "A united, free and independent workers' and peasants' Soviet Ukraine." Trotsky first advanced this slogan in the May 9, 1939 issue of the Socialist Appeal, the paper of the American Trotskyist movement at that time. In the Sept. 15 and 18,1939 issues (from which we excerpt the portions below) he defended and elaborated the concept of the revolutionary nature of the national question in the socialist struggle against the Soviet bureacracy. Trotsky's articles offer a brilliant and illuminating insight into the basic problems posed by the workers' uprisings against the Soviet bureaucracy in Poland and Hungary. His treatment of the questions (1) Will the defense of the Soviet Union be weakened by the liberation of an oppressed nation within the Soviet orbit? (2) Will national liberation harm the development of Soviet economy? — go right to the heart of the burning issues posed today. We urge all workers concerned with the fate of the world socialist revolution to study these articles in their original and fuller form. We would be glad to send copies of the original articles to any one who writes for them.

The right of national self-determination is, of course, a democratic and not a socialist principle. But genuinely democratic principles are supported and realized in our era only by the revoluitonary proletariat; it is for this very reason that they interlace with socialist tasks. The resolute struggle of the Bolshevik party for the right of self-determination of oppressed nationalities in Russia facilitated in the extreme the conquest of power by the proletariat.

It was as if the proletarian revolution had sucked in the democratic problems, above all, the agrarian and national problems, giving to the Russian Revolution a combined character. The proletariat was already undertaking socialist tasks but it could not immediately raise to this level the peasantry and the oppressed nations (themselves predominantly peasant) who were absorbed with solving their democratic tasks.

NECESSARY COMPROMISES

Hence flowed the historically inescapable compromises in the agrarian as well as the national sphere. Despite the economic advantages of large-scale agriculture, the Soviet government was compelled to divide up large estates. Only several years later was the government able to pass to collective farming and then it immediately leaped too far ahead and found itself compelled, a few years later to make concessions to the peasants in the shape of private land-holdings which in many places tend to devour the collective farms. The next stages of this contradictory process have not yet been resolved.

The need for compromise, or rather for a number of compromises, similarly arises in the field of the national question, whose paths are no more rectilinear than the paths of the agrarian revolution. The federated structure of the Soviet Republic represents a compromise between the centralist requirements of planned economy and the decentralist requirements of the development of nations oppressed in the past.

Having constructed a workers' state on the compromise principle of a federation, the Bolshevik party wrote into the constitution the right of nations to complete separation, indicating thereby that the party did not at all consider the national question as solved once and for all.

The author of the critical article argues that the party leaders hoped "to convince the masses to stay within the framework of the Federated Soviet Republic." This is correct, if the word "convince" is taken not in the sense of logical arguments but in the sense of passing through the experiences of economic, political and cultural collaboration. Abstract gitation in favor of centralism does not of itself carry great weight.

As has already been said, the federation was a necessary departure from centralism. It must also be added that the very composition of the federation is by no means given beforehand once and for all. Depending on objective conditions, a federation may develop toward greater centralism, or on the contrary, toward greater independence of its national component parts. Politically it is not at all a question of whether it is advantageous "in general" for various nationalities to live together within the framework of a single state, but rather it is a question of whether or not a particular nationality has, on the basis of her own experience, found it advantageous to adhere to a given state.

In other words: Which of the two tendencies in the given circumstances gains the ascendancy in the compromise regime of a federation—the centrifugal or the centripetal? Or to put it even more concretely: Have Stalin and his Ukranian satraps succeeded in convincing the Ukrainian masses of the superiority of Moscow's centralism over Ukrainin independence or have they failed? This question is of decisive importance. Yet our author does not even suspect its existence.

Do the broad masses of the Ukrainian people wish to separate from the USSR? It might at first sight appear difficult to answer this question, inasmuch as the Ukrainian people, like all other peoples of the USSR, are deprived of any opportunity to express their will. But the very genesis of the totalitarian regime and its ever more brutal intensification, especially in the Ukraine, are proof that the real will of the Ukrainian masses is irreconcilably hostile to the Soviet bureaucracy. There is no lack of evidence that one of the primary sources of this hostility is the suppression of Ukrainian independence.

The nationalist tendencies in the Ukraine erupted violently in 1917-19. The **Borotba** party expressed these tendencies in the left wing. The most important indication of the success of the Leninist policy in the Ukraine was the fusion of the Ukrainian Bolshevik party wtih the organ-

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Farrell Dobbs on TV And Radio ALL Major Networks

Watch your newspapers and call your local stations for exact date and time.

Dobbs States SWP Foreign Policy

(Excerpts from a speech given by Farrell Dobbs, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, over Mutual Radio Network, Oct. 25, 1956.)

In the course of my travels — from Montgomery to Minneapolis, from New York to San Francisco — I have been listening as well as talking, and trying to learn as well as teach. And one of the things I have learned is that — despite all the ballyhoo, the thousands of speeches made and the tens of millions of dollars spent by the major parties — most of the American people have not become very excited about this election campaign.

There's a reason for this, a good reason, I think. No matter how hard they try, most people can't detect much difference between the two major parties. Both these parties stand for "moderation," by which they mean resistance to any fundamental change, maintenance of things essentially as they are.

Both these parties support the present economic system, under which a majority of the people have to work for wages (when work is available) and a small minority coin vast profits off the labor of the majority.

Both the Republicans and the Democrats support the bipartisan foreign policy which is aimed at upholding capitalism and imperialism wherever they still exist and at restoring them wherever they have been abolished. The Democrats and Republicans are both opponents of equality for the colored people in our time, almost 100 years after the Civil War. They both are responsible for for abridging the Bill of Rights and persecuting minority political tendencies that refuse to conform to the standards of Wall Street.

So if a great many Americans feel it won't matter which of the major parties wins the elections and if they won't even bother to go to the polls, it doesn't necessarily mean that they are suffering from apathy, or that they are poor citizens. What it means is that, on the basis of the issues as they have heard them developed, they just can't see much or any difference between the Republicans and Democrats.

The Issue of Banning H-Bomb Tests

Such a situation usually works to the advantage of the party in power, the Republicans this year, and to the disadvantage of the party that is out, the Democrats. Realizing this, and hoping to rid himself of this handicap in the final days of the campaign, Adlai Stevenson has at last begun to discuss a real issue — the H-bomb tests.

Being out of public office, and having less responsibility than the Republicans, Stevenson is in a better position to exploit the anti-war sentiments of the American people — even though the H-bomb was developed originally at the order of a Democratic president and tested repeatedly, against the advice of leading scientists, with the support of the Democratic Party as a whole.

Eisenhower did substantially the same thing in 1952 when he criticized the unpopular Korean war, even though it had been waged from the beginning with the support of the Republican Party, including Eisenhower himself.

If I give the impression of questioning Stevenson's sincerity in raising the issue of the H-bomb tests, that's the impression I want to give. If Stevenson really was concerned about ending the atomic arms race, he would have done and said something about it inside his own party first of all, that is, at the Democratic convention. But he didn't say a word there, and the Democratic platform says nothing in criticism of the H-bomb tests. On the contrary, it is a more rabidly militaristic platform than that of the Republicans, if such a thing is possible.

But whatever Stevenson's motives are, they are not important in comparison with the issue itself, whose public discussion the Socialist Workers Party welcomes with great satisfaction. In fact we hope the subject will be widened into a discussion and rejection of the bipartisan military policy as a whole.

The facts are that the H-bomb tests already have endangered the future of the human race. Further contamination of the atmosphere by the deadly poison, Strontium-90, menaces all of us in all countries with bone cancer. Dr. Ralph Lapp, the atomic scientist, reveals that "Fragments of bomb debris from the Pacific tests are now turning up in the bones of people all over the world." Continuation of these tests will poison the food we eat, the water we drink, the very air we breathe.

The 1956 election platform of the Socialist Workers Party calls unequivocally for halting all nuclear weapons tests not only H-bomb tests. But that step, urgent as it is, is not enough. Unlike both Stevenson and Eisenhower, we are opposed to the further production of any hydrogen or atomic weapons. Unlike Stevenson and Eisenhower, we are for ending the draft, not maybe, and not at some vague point in the distant future, as Stevenson proposes, but now.

Unlike the Republicans and Democrats, we favor withdrawing all American troops from foreign soil, withdrawing from all military alliances, discontinuing all aid to reactionary despots like Chiang Kai-shek and Franco. We call for an end to all trade restrictions, recognition of the government of revolutionary China, and aid to all colonial and socialist struggles against imperialism. We call for fraternal solidarity with the workers in the Soviet sphere in their efforts to establish workers democracy.

At the bottom of the present crisis in Soviet-Polish relations there exists a growing revolutionary ferment among the industrial workers of the Soviet Union and the entire Soviet orbit. The conflict is not between the Soviet and Polish workers. In both countries the workers are fighting to abolish the dictatorship of the ruling bureaucracies and assert their own democratic rights.

The Polish struggle is now aimed at the Kremlin bureaucrats because they are the primary agency of dictatorial rule everywhere in the Soviet sphere.

The Polish workers appear to have supported the native bureaucrats against the Kremlin bureaucrats, not because they are satisfied with the present Polish regime but because they realize the need to block Soviet interference as a first step toward winning their demands.

The capitalist politicians in this country claim to see in the Soviet-Polish conflict what Adlai Stevenson calls an opening for "deliverance of the Polish people from communism." Secretary of State Dulles hails the event as a breakup of the Soviet power to the advantage of the United States, by which he means the monopoly capitalists of this country. Such statements are deliberate propaganda intended to trick the American people into support of a war against the Soviet Union and the East European countries, a war to restore capitalism there against the will of the people.

Actually the workers of the Soviet orbit have shown no desire whatever to restore capitalism. What they really want is to abolish bureaucratic rule, establish workers' democracy and take into their own hands the building of a socialist society.

The American people should support their right to follow such a course by intervening to prevent the capitalist government in Washington from engaging in any hostile acts against the peoples of the Soviet orbit.

We socialists believe war is too serious a matter to be left in the hands of generals, politicians and diplomats. We have no confidence in the two parties that handed Eisenhower a blank check in the recent Formosa crisis and gave him a green light to go to war with China over her offshore islands. We have no confidence in the two parties that approved Truman's counter-revolutionary intervention in Korea.

We believe that the war-making power should be taken out of the hands of both Congress and the President. We propose that the American people themselves should settle the questions of war and peace, and the basic foreign policy questions which determine — before the bombs begin falling — whether we shall have war or peace.

This can be done in a democratic fashion through nationwide referendums, which we propose shall be authorized by amendment to the constitution.

For example: Right now a debate is going on about whether or not to halt H-bomb tests. How will this debate be settled, and what will happen afterward?

Instead of having the bomb question settled by one or two politicians, or even 500 of them, we say, let the American people decide it themselves.

Under the referendum plan proposed by the Socialist Workers Party, the people would be supplied with all pertinent information by the top scientists in the field about the effects of H-bomb tests.

The Causes of Modern Wars

The means of communication — newspapers, TV, radio — would be thrown open to a full and unfettered discussion by those who favor continuing and those who favor stopping the bomb tests. The people would have a designated period — say, 60 or 90 days — in which to hear, study and debate all points of view. Then the people would go to the polls in a national referendum and vote yes or no on the question. And that would be it — the majority would decide.

Similar referendum votes could be taken on other basic questions — whether or not to continue the draft, to withdraw our troops from abroad, continue military alliances, and so forth.

Could there be anything more democratic? The people are the ones who do the fighting, the suffering, the dying — and the paying — in war; is there any reason why they shouldn't make the decisions which determine whether or not there will be war?

Of course those who are bent on pushing us down the road to war, those who have contempt for the judgment and aspirations of the people and think we are unfit to decide our own fate, will not like this plan, and will seek to block it. But its adoption would be a huge step forward for both peace and democracy. And nobody would have to beg or cajole the people to go to the polls to cast their votes on questions of this character.

I don't mean to imply, however, that referendum votes by themselves are enough to spare us from the horrors of war and the burdens of militarism. There have been numerous times when the ruling class knew the people were opposed to a war, and dragged us into one anyway.

Letting the people vote on war or peace can place obstacles in the way of the pro-war forces, and can provide the rallying point for mobilizing the people in a struggle to prevent war, but peace cannot be guaranteed or lasting until we put an end to the causes of modern war and to the power of the capitalist ruling class to take us into war.

The causes of war are both economic and political. The capitalist economic system produces cycles of boom and bust, prosperity and depression. To maintain their profits, the corporate rulers of the economy and their political servants in the Democratic and Republican parties are driven to seek new markets, fields for investment of capital, sources of raw materials and cheap labor power abroad. This drive is the basic cause of imperialist war in our time.

This drive has become aggravated in the last 40 years because large portions of the world have been cut off from imperialist exploitation by working class revolutions that abolished capitalism and by colonial revolts that gained national independence.

The capitalists need to recover these lost areas, or they will be wracked by hopelessly insoluble economic and political problems at home. That's what drives them toward war, that's what compels them to consume so much of our wealth in military preparations. In the final analysis, they feel that war and preparations for war is their only way of postponing a catastrophic depression.

How to End Capitalist Domination

Neither wars nor depressions are inevitable, natural or heaven-sent. They are man-made and can be averted, and even abolished permanently, through timely action by men and women. We have the capacity to reorganize our economy on a planned basis, producing for use rather than profit, and eliminating the anarchy that generates insecurity and unemployment and the need for military adventures abroad.

The employers won't like such a change toward socialism, but they are a small minority and won't be able to prevent it for long once the people understand what they want and set out to get it. The socialist transformation of the United States will spell the end of capitalism as a world system, because already in other parts of the world capitalism is too weak to survive without American aid. A socialist America would usher in a new era of cooperation, brotherhood and peace among the nations of the world.

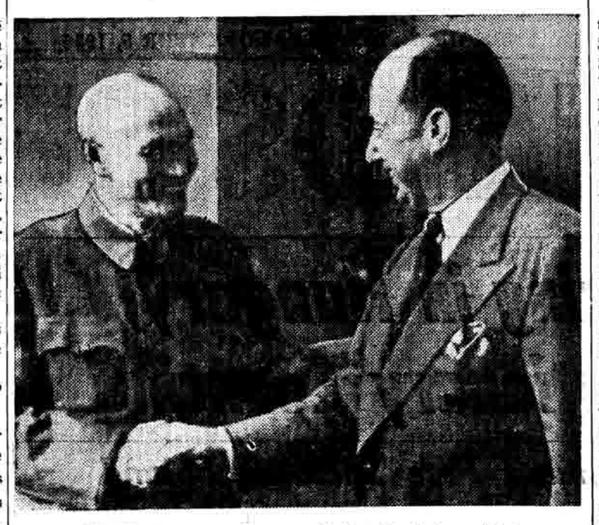
But to banish the threats of war and depression, it is necessary to end the economic and political domination that our present rulers exercise with the aid of their two capitalist parties. This can be done through the formation of a new party, an independent labor party, based on the union movement, and drawing its support from the working farmers, Negroes and other minorities, housewives, young people, sections of the middle class. A labor party would draw support from all elements of the population whose interests are different from, and antagonistic to, those of the capitalists.

Running on a progressive, anti-capitalist and anti-war program, a labor party would quickly become the first party in the land. In fact, it would already be a reality if the official union leaders — conservative, narrow-minded and cowardly as they are — had not persisted these last 20 years in making the labor movement a political tail on the Democratic donkey.

But with or without the present union leaders, a labor party is coming because in the next few years the working people of this country are going to learn from their own experience the folly of depending on the Democratic Party to solve their most vital problems.

If you agree with us that a labor party is necessary, that tests of all nuclear weapons (not only H-bomb) should be stopped, that the ordinary people of this country are capable of ruling themselves democratically and competently and have the right to decide the country's policies — if you believe that through political action we can abolish the evils of war, depression, Jim Crow and thought-control — then you can express your sentiments at the polls on November 6 by voting for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party — Farrell Dobbs for President, Myra Tanner Weiss for Vice-President, and the rest of our ticket in your state.

Chiang Kai-shek and Stevenson



Adlai E. Stevenson, Democratic Presidential candidate, was warmly greeted by Chiang Kai-shek, butcher of the Chinese people, on his arrival in Taipeh, Formosa in 1953. Both Republican and Democratic parties follow Big Business foreign policy which props up dictators like Chiang against the revolutionary will of the people.

...Hungarian Workers in Revolt

(Continued from page 1)

dominant role in the uprising was played by the industrial workers, with the youth taking the lead in the actual physical combat. The peasants do not seem to have played more than a passive role John MacCormac, writing from Budapest in the Oct. 30 N.Y. Times, tells of his conversation with some insurgent leaders who said that the Hungarian army had been mainly neutral though it had given them some small arms. They attributed the failure of the army as a whole to play a more active part in the uprising "to the fact that it was largely composed of farm boys." They said:

THE GENERAL STRIKE

"The peasant is conservative by nature and therefore passive. But the workers have fought with us, even the workers of Red Csepel," which contain the biggest concentration of industry in Hungary.

Emphasizing the proletarain character of the struggle was the general strike. On Oct. 26, the United Press reported "the general strike called to paralyze communication and industry in Hungary." This report came from "Austrian railway workers who visited Hegyeshalom, the first rail-check point inside Hungary. They said the first workers to lay down their tools were Hungarian railway workers, and added that employees of all factories and plants had joined them. By 10:00 A.M., they said, work had ceased throughout Hungary. . . They said the Hungarian workers told them the strike was directed by a 'Central Workers Committee' . . ."

On Oct. 27, the Budapest radio broadcast a special appeal from Premier Nagy to the workers. According to a Vienna dispatch in the Oct. 28 N.Y. Times: "The Premier pleaded with them [the workers] to return to work and to surrender their arms." The appeal claimed that "the new workers' councils in the factories have pledged themselves to support the new Nagy government." **Radio Budapest broadcast repeated appeals for the workers to "resume their work." The only success it reported was "that 40 percent of the workers were back in one big cotton factory."**

Most on-the-spot accounts agree that the uprising was "spontaneous." There was no official national program. Nevertheless, there are a number of common demands repeated in the various local leaflets and radio announcements by the rebels.

INSURGENT DEMANDS

The student demonstration on Oct. 23, the first to be fired on, issued 17 demands, starting with the "withdrawal of Soviet troops" and complete freedom of speech and press. They called for reinstatement of former Premier Imre Nagy, whose subsequent first public act, ironically, was to denounce the uprising.

On Oct. 26 a leaflet circulated by insurgent Hungarian army officers attacked the government for calling on "the Soviet Army to repress the Hungarian revolution." **Among their eight demands, point number five specifically called for "the creation of a Hungarian socialism on a really democratic basis."**

Undoubtedly, some pro-capitalist elements have attempted to infiltrate the insurgent ranks. But all evidence indicates they play a negligible role.

WANT NATIONALIZATION

An Oct. 27 London dispatch in the N.Y. Times cites Hugh Gaitskell, head of the British Labor Party, who described a report from Budapest which "noted that there appeared to be no desire on the part of the industrial proletariat to relinquish either the nationalization of industries or long-term economic planning by the government. . . The interpretation . . . by qualified sources in Eastern Europe is that the idea of a socialist rather than a capitalist democracy is the goal of the masses in the satellites."

The United Press, on Oct. 25, described a rebel broadcast at Miskolc, in Borsod County, a rich industrial area. "The underground . . . demanded 'immediate elimination' of all the Stalinists . . . that the top positions of the state and the Communist Party be filled with men devoted to the principle of proletarian internationalism and respectful of Hungarian traditions. . . The text of the transmission made it clear the underground in the East was Communist and not anti-Communist."

LINKED TO 1917

Paul Wohl, writing in the Oct. 29 Christian Science Monitor, emphasizes "the insurgents' consistent stand for a socialist democracy." He links the Hungarian insurgents to the original concepts of the Russian Revolution, which the Stalinists have besmirched. Wohl writes:

"It is a national independence movement, but it is not primarily nationalistic. Attempts to fraternize with Soviet troops and their initial response show that to the Hungarian insurgents the enemy was not the Soviet soldier. . . **Proclamations in several cities of revolutionary councils of workers, students, and soldiers deputies was a tribute to the original idea of the Russian Revolution."**

This refers to a most significant phenomenon of the Hungarian uprising—the widespread formation of local revolutionary governments similar to the Russian soviets in 1917. The Oct. 29 N.Y. Times tells of "revolutionary councils in control of several large provincial towns . . . busy clapping into jail local officials of the Hungarian Workers (Communist) party and of the security police. . . Revolutionary committees appeared to be in full control of Gyor, Szombathely, Sopron and Papa. . . Kaposvar, Veszprem, Pecs, Miskolc, Szolnok and Szekszard were believed also in rebel hands. . ."

WORKERS' COUNCILS

A Moscow dispatch in the Oct. 30 N.Y. Times said: "A report from Budapest by the official Soviet news agency Tass told Soviet readers that local government organs had been set up in the provinces on the initiative of the people. It said workers' councils were being organized in Hungarian factories to take part in management."

A Vienna dispatch in the Oct. 28 Times describes a "broadcast by the Miskolc radio station last night in the name of the workers' council of Borsod Province." The same issue carries an interview with an insurgent leader in Hegyeshalom who stated that "in the district of Gyor soldiers, workers and students have formed councils." **In another industrial town, Sopron, "the streets . . . were said to be patrolled by groups of three, one soldier, one worker and one student." The Hungarian uprising is symbolized by this repeated image of the united worker, soldier and student.**

NAGY'S MANEUVERS

The Nagy regime, which on Oct. 24 had announced that the Russian troops were called into Budapest "to liquidate . . . the counter-revolutionary uprising," by Oct. 30 was proclaiming that "the national government . . . recognizes the democratic local autonomous organizations [workers' councils] created by the revolution and asks their support."

By this time, too, Nagy was agreeing to accept all major demands of the insurgents and promising the withdrawal of the Soviet troops.

It is clear that Nagy and the Communist Party leaders still hope to cling to the power even if this means very big concessions. At the same time, the Nagy regime indicates it will try to cheat the worker of the fruits of their revolutionary victory by establishing a people's front government to include pro-capitalist elements. However, the revolutionists display extreme suspicion of Nagy and a large part of the country remains in control of the revolutionary councils. The issue is far from settled and the outcome will be determined in the further course of the struggle. One thing is certain, however, the Stalinist bureaucracy and the Kremlin gang have been thoroughly exposed and discredited.

The apparent glee with which the capitalist press has greeted the Kremlin's difficulties in Eastern Europe is tempered by their knowledge that these revolutionary uprisings promise no real benefits to capitalism. As the Oct. 28 N.Y. Times put it, the problem of Western imperialism is "how to encourage the nationalist and libertarian spirit in the satellites without flaming it into large-scale revolt. . . Privately the West pondered during the week the possibility of exploiting the situation without exploding it."

In fact, reports the Oct. 27 N.Y. Times, "The view prevailing among United States officials, it appeared, was that 'evolution' toward freedom in Eastern Europe would be better for all concerned than 'revolution,' though nobody was saying this publicly."

American imperialism has shown repeatedly that it can live, if it has to, with Stalinism; and Stalinism has shown that it is more than willing to live with imperialism. But neither can tolerate genuine proletarian revolutionary movements, even when directed against the other.

ISL Election Stand Hit by Supporters

In its Oct. 29 issue, Labor Action, a weekly paper reflecting the views of the Independent Socialist League, publishes letters from two of its supporters taking issue with the ISL's support of the Socialist Party in the current election. The first writer, S. R. of Los Angeles, argues for support of the Socialist Workers ticket.

The other, Tim Wohlforth, holds that a vote for the SWP "makes better sense" than a vote for the SP and that Labor Action should recommend a vote for the SWP, SP or SLP rather than supporting the Socialist Party alone.

The letters came in response to the publications in the Oct. 8 Labor Action of a statement of the National Committee of the ISL declaring its official support of the Socialist Party.

The ISL statement declared in part: "We select the Socialist Party for this electoral recommendation, from among the three socialistic organizations that have nominated candidates because we believe that a vote for the Socialist Party candidates will be the most easily and widely interpreted as a socialist protest vote in the widest sense, and not because we wish to indicate any endorsement of the SP's program or policies as a whole."

SLUR ON SWP

The statement, however, rejects support to the SWP and the SLP on the basis of political differences. The SWP, contends the statement, "is putting itself forward . . . in effect, as the ersatz electoral instrument of pro-Stalinism." The SLP is rejected because of its sectarian attitude towards the unions.

Characterizing the conclusions of the ISL statement as "a tissue of rationalizations and half-truths," reader S. R. demonstrates that the statement "is glaringly deficient in detailing its criticism of the SP (an essential part of critical support.) 'The Socialist Party,' says the resolution ever so delicately, 'maintains positions on a number of vital questions of the day, including its attitude toward the war question, which in our opinion are incorrect policies for the socialist movement.'

"The plain fact," S. R. points out, "is that the SP supports American imperialism in the cold war. It also supported the hot war in Korea, as well as the counter-revolution in Guatemala."

On the same point, Wohlforth adds, "The SP's stand in support of every important imperialist policy of America, from the Marshall Plan through NATO and the Korean War, makes it absolutely clear that there is no political basis for the support of the SP alone in this election."

Discussing the ISL charge that the SWP electoral policy is strengthening Stalinism, S. R. declares, "The SWP campaign is a double blow against Stalinism, such as the SP campaign cannot be. First of all a vote by a Stalinist for the SWP is a vote against popular frontism, which has been the official Stalinist line since 1934. . . Secondly, a Stalinist vote for the SWP is a sharp break with Stalinism precisely on the Russian question."

POZNAN STAND CITED

Wohlforth writes on this, "The SWP has carried out a consistent campaign in support of the Poznan workers, correctly pointing to the revolutionary impact of their uprising. . . [The SWP] has supported the working class and the colonial peoples in every one of their struggles. Would that the SP had as good a record toward its own ruling class as does the SWP toward the Russian bureaucracy."

S. R. expresses the belief that "the ISL statement, by its omissions, superficiality, and rationalizations, constitutes a capitulation to the capitulators to imperialism."

In his reply to Wohlforth and S. R., Labor Action's editor carefully refrains from any explicit criticism of the program of the Socialist Party. (This was also the procedure followed in the original statement.) The lengthy reply is almost completely an expansion of the ISL claim that the SWP has "capitulated to Stalinism."

CP and SWP Debate Election Issues at New York Forum

The Acting National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, Tom Kerry, debated the Communist Party's New York State Legislative Representative, Lillian Gates, at the Guardian Forum, Oct. 24, on "The Issues in the 1956 Election Campaign." The forum is a community group in New York's lower east side organized by readers of the National Guardian.

Lillian Gates began by saying that the left must avoid some of the errors of the past such as "trying to demolish each other.' She said the Communist Party had committed many of those errors but was now welcoming discussion and criticism from other points of view.

On the election campaign, she said she felt that voting socialist was an ineffective way to register protest against capitalist policies. Labor is beginning to move as a class, she said, and is moving through the Democratic party. The left should keep in step with the mass of progressive forces in electoral activitity with the object of strengthening labor's independent role, and advancing the concepts of an "anti-monopoly coalition" and socialism.

Kerry opened by congratulating the Guardian Forum for getting official representatives of the CP and SWP together in debate. He welcomed Mrs. Gates statement of the need for a free exchange of views between all left tendencies but added that the CP still has further to go in the realization of this. That very morning, he said, the Daily Worker had refused to accept a paid advertisement from the SWP announcing an election meeting featuring Farrell Dobbs and Clifford McAvoy as speakers. His query to Mrs. Gates as to the reason for this discriminatory action went unanswered.

Discussing the elections, Kerry pointed out that labor had actually begun to intervene in politics as a class 20 years ago with the birth of the CIO. It was the policy of throwing such organizations as the American Labor Party behind the Democrats, he said, that destroyed the development of an independent labor party then. Support of capitalist candidates by the labor leadership and the CP since then, he added, has had the same effect of thwarting independent working class political development.

Answering Mrs. Gates' claim that the CP election policy is strengthening socialism, Kerry said that even if the CP preached socialism 364 days of the year, the effect was negated when on the 365th it urged the workers to support a capitalist party. This received a warm response from the audience.

Chicago Militant Forum

"Revolution in Hungary"
Speaker: Marjory Ball
Fri., Nov. 9, 8:15 P.M.
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1. Russian Revolution Anniversary

Thirty-nine years ago, on Nov. 7, the Russian Revolution, under the leadership of the Bolshevik party, brought victory to the workers, soldiers and peasants, and ended the rule of landlords, foreign imperialists and domestic capitalists.

Despite its subsequent Stalinist degeneration this mighty revolution still lives. Indeed, we are witnessing its regeneration now, with the Polish and Hungarian revolutions marking a milestone in the process. "Proclamation in several cities [of Hungary] of revolutionary councils of workers, students and soldiers deputies," writes Paul Wohl in the Oct. 29 Christian Science Monitor, "was a tribute to the original idea of the Russian revolution."

"The most indubitable feature of a revolution," wrote Leon Trotsky in the preface to his monumental work, The History of the Russian Revolution, "is the direct interference of the masses in historic events. . . [Revolution is] the forcible entrance of the masses into the realm of rulership over their own destiny."

The Russian masses entered this realm in 1917. They secured their rulership, when the workers' councils (Soviets) became the government and when capitalism and landlordism were abolished.

Despite emergency measures imposed by civil war, by foreign intervention and famine, the Soviet government from 1917 to 1922 was undoubtedly the most democratic the world has yet seen. But with the growth of Stalinism, the workers were driven from the "realm of rulership over their own destiny," by a privilege-seeking bureaucracy. The revolution continued to live in the new property forms and the planned production. But the bureaucracy ruled by tyranny.

The capstone was Stalin's despotism with its frame-up trials, slave-labor camps, the murder of Lenin's comrades-in-arms, anti-Semitism and oppression of other national minorities by the bureaucratic caste in the Kremlin. It was — and the regime of Stalin's successors continues to be — the complete opposite of the Leninist regime, which sought to draw ever deeper layers of the toiling masses onto the political arena.

Still, the new property relations, born of the 1917 revolution, showed their viability when, despite the worst kind of bureaucratic mismanagement of the economy, the productive forces grew at a phenomenal rate. The Soviet Union became the second industrial power in the world. The territory in which the new property forms prevail were extended into Eastern Europe. True, this was achieved through a Kremlin-manipulated military-bureaucratic process. Nevertheless the productive forces grew in these areas previously blighted by capitalist rule.

But the oppressive bureaucratic rule also extended its sway into Eastern Europe. Everywhere it rules, the bureaucracy engenders increasing hatred and revolt. In Poland and Hungary we witness the beginning of the triumphant re-entry of the masses "in the realm of rulership over their own destiny." This is but a prelude to the mass revolutionary resurgence throughout the Soviet orbit and the advance of socialist revolution on a world-wide scale.

2. Resurgence in Poland, Hungary

In the countries of Eastern Europe, the bureaucratic tyranny is hated for what it is — foreign oppression. The ouster of Russian soldiers and the cancellation of Moscow's unjust economic exactions becomes the precondition for wiping out bureaucratic tyranny. Hence the slogan for national independence was raised as the rallying cry for the revolution in Poland and Hungary.

But which way shall the nation go after the power of the Kremlin oppressor is broken and the security police is put to rout? This can be settled only by the struggle of antagonistic class forces now emerging on the open arena.

Pro-capitalist restoration elements have appeared on the scene in Poland and Hungary. But they are in a distinct minority. Far stronger forces impel the national liberation revolution in Poland and Hungary on the socialist road.

(1) The working class played a leading role in the uprising during the course of which it created workers' councils. (Soviets). The working class imparts a socialist direction to the struggle for national liberation. Indeed, this is the only way in which the national independence aspirations of an entire people can find any real solution.

It is true, that the peasants are abandoning the collective farms in Hungary, and this return to small-scale individual farming is a retreat from socialized property forms. But the peasantry is no more able in Hungary to chart a road for the nation than it has in any previous revolution in history. Decisive political power is lodged in the cities where the industrial proletariat predominates. The specific weight of the working class far outweighs that of the peasantry.

The bureaucracy had hopelessly alienated the peasant by compulsory collectivization. By placing itself at the head of the national liberation struggle, the working class can win the allegiance of the peasants. If they succeed in replacing the bureaucracy in power, the workers will be able to guide the peasantry to a socialist course through a wise policy of persuasion and economic benefits.

(2) The specific weight of the working class, once organized, is great in any country. In Hungary and Poland, the working class is now emerging as an organized force (through its councils) on the basis of the nationalized property relations, and this factor increases its strength many fold. The established property relations are those (in their foundations) proper to a socialist state. Social being determines social consciousness. The determination to retain the socialist property forms, i.e., the nationalized property, was confirmed by all perceptive capitalist observers, who agree that the insurgents consistently advocated democratic management of the planned economy — i.e., workers' democracy.

The overturns in Hungary and Poland mark the first stages of a **political revolution.** The events are characterized by the forcible intervention of the toiling masses on the basis of existing property relations and for the sake of the further development of these relations. The revolution is thus a continuation of the Russian Revolution of 1917.

The national liberation aspect of the uprising is no sign whatever of capitalist ascendancy. It is a component part of the political revolution. To restore capitalism, the organizations of the working class born in the rising would first have to be smashed and the working class would have to be driven off the political arena. This is no small task for any force to undertake. The Moscow bureaucrats with their tanks were not able to do it.

(3) Capitalism has become progressively debilitated and is losing its attractive power for the masses everywhere in the world. The peoples of Hungary, Poland, and other East European countries have known capitalism in the form of the cruelest kind of foreign exploitation. Capitalism and landlordism ruled their countries through fascist and military dictatorships. Why should they look toward a restoration of these evils as a solution for their problems?

(4) The Soviet working class is already exerting powerful mass pressure against the bureaucracy. The attacks on the Stalin cult at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union show the intensity of this pressure

There is no question that the revolutionary overthrow of the Kremlin bureaucracy would inaugurate fraternal relations between democratic working class regimes in the Soviet Union and those of Eastern Europe. In addition, the great industrial strength of the Soviet Union offers the promise that a socialist federation of the entire Soviet orbit would take giant strides forward economically once the bureaucracy is removed.

Thus, the conviction that the East European risings will find a ready response from the Soviet working class reinforces the attractive power of the socialist goal for the Hungarian and Polish masses.

What these masses now lack is a revolutionary party of the kind the Russian workers had on Nov. 7, 1917. But in the course of the political struggles now opening up in Poland and Hungary, the working class will be impelled to create a Leninist party. They will be impelled to do so by the struggle to remove the bureaucratic caste, the fight against capitalist restoration tendencies, and by the need to link their national revolutions with revolutionary struggles in the rest of Eastern Europe, in the Soviet Union and throughout the capitalist world.

. . . On the National Question

(Continued from page 1)

ization of the **Borotbists.**

In the course of the next decade, however, an actual break occurred with the **Borotba** group, whose leaders were subjected to persecution. The old Bolshevik, Skrypnik, a pure-blooded Stalinist, was driven to suicide in 1933 for his allegedly excessive patronage of nationalist tendencies. The actual "organizer" of this suicide was the Stalinist emissary, Postyshev, who thereupon remained in the Ukraine as the representative of the centralist policy. Presently, however, Postyshev himself fell in disgrace. These facts are profoundly symptomatic, for they reveal how much force there is behind the pressure of the nationalist opposition on the bureaucracy. Nowhere did the purges and repressions assume such a savage and mass character as they did in the Ukraine.

Of enormous political importance is the sharp turn away from the Soviet Union of Ukrainian democratic elements outside the Soviet Union. When the Ukrainian problem became aggravated early this year, communist voices were not heard at all; but the voices of the Ukrainian clericals and National-Socialists were loud enough. This means that the proletarian vanguard has let the Ukrainian national movement slip out of its hands and that this movement has progressed far on the road of separatism.

Lastly, very indicative also are the moods among the Ukrainian emigres in the North American continent. In Canada, for instance, where the Ukrainians compose the bulk of the Communist Party, there began in 1933, as I am informed by a prominent participant in the movement, a marked exodus of Ukrainian workers and farmers from communism, falling either into passivity or nationalism of various hues. In their totality, these symptoms and facts incontestably testify to the growing strength of separatist tendencies among the Ukrainian masses.

AN UNSOLVED QUESTION

This is the basic fact underlying the whole problem. It shows that despite the giant step forward taken by the October Revolution in the domain of national relations, the isolated proletarian revolution in a backward country proved incapable of solving the national question, especially the Ukrainian question which is, in its very essence, international in character.

The Thermidorian reaction, crowned by the Bonapartist bureaucracy, has thrown the toiling masses far back in the national sphere as well. The great masses of the Ukrainian people are dissatisfied with their national fate and wish to change it drastically. It is this fact that the revolutionary politician must, in contrast to the bureaucrat and the sectarian, take as his point of departure.

If our critic were capable of thinking politically, he would have surmised without much difficulty the arguments of the Stalinists against the slogan of an independent Ukraine: "It negates the position of the defense of the Soviet Union"; "disrupts the unity of the revolutionary masses"; "serves not the interests of revolution but those of imperialism." In other words, the Stalinists would repeat all the three arguments of our author. They will unfailingly do so on the morrow.

The Kremlin bureaucracy tells the Soviet woman: Inasmuch as there is socialism in our country, you must be happy and you must give up abortions (or suffer the penalty). To the Ukrainian they say: Inasmuch as the socialist revolution has solved the national question, it is your duty to be happy in the USSR and to renounce all thought of separation (or face the firing squad).

THE MARXIST ANSWER

What does a revolutionist say to the woman? "You will decide yourself whether you want a child; I will defend your right to abortion against the Kremlin police." To the Ukrainian people he says: "Of importance to me is your attitude toward your national destiny and not the 'socialistic' sophistries of the Kremlin police; I will support your struggle for independence with all my might!"

The sectarian, as so often happens, finds himself siding with the police, covering up the status quo, that is, police violence, by sterile speculation on the superiority of the socialist unification of nations as against their remaining divided. Assuredly, the separation of the Ukraine is a liability as compared with a voluntary and equalitarian socialist federation; but it will be an unquestionable asset as compared with the bureaucratic strangulation of the Ukrainian people.

In order to draw together more closely and honestly, it is sometimes necessary first to separate. Lenin often used to cite the fact that the relations between the Norwegian and Swedish workers improved and became closer after the disruption of the compulsory unification of Sweden and Norway. . . .

Our author interprets the slogan of an independent Ukraine as follows: "First the Soviet Ukraine must be freed from the rest of the Soviet Union, **then** we will have the proletarian revolution and unificaiton of the rest of the Ukraine." But how can there be a separation without first a revolution? The author is caught in a vicious circle, and the slogan of an independent Ukraine together with Trotsky's "faulty logic" is hopelessly discredited. In point of fact this peculiar logic—"first" and "then"—is only a striking example of scholastic thinking.

Our hapless critic has no inkling of the fact that historical processes may occur not "first" and "then" but run parallel to each other, exert influence upon each other, speed or retard each other; and that the task of revolutionary politics consists precisely in speeding up the mutual action and reaction of progressive processes.

The barb of the slogan of an independent Ukraine is aimed directly against the Moscow bureaucracy and enables the proletarian vanguard to rally the peasant masses. On the other hand, the same slogan opens up for the proletarian party the opportunity of playing a leading role in the national Ukrainian movement in Poland, Rumania and Hungary. Both of these political processes will drive the revolutionary movement forward and increase the specific weight of the proletarian vanguard. . . .

The sectarian simply ignores the fact that the national struggle, one of the most labyrinthine and complex but at the same time extremely important forms of the class struggle, cannot be suspended by bare references to the future world revolution. With their eyes turned away from the USSR, and failing to receive support and leadership from the international proletariat, the petty-bourgeois and even working-class masses of Western Ukraine are falling victim to reactionary demagogy. Similar processes are undoubtedly also taking place in the Soviet Ukraine, only it is more difficult to lay them bare.

The slogan of an independent Ukraine advanced in time by the proletarian vanguard will lead to the unavoidable stratification of the petty bourgeoisie and render it easier for its lower tiers to ally themselves with the proletariat. Only thus is it possible to prepare the proletarian revolution. . . .

To find the bridge from reaction to revolution—that is the task. This is the import, by the way, of our entire program of transitional demands **(The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International).** Small wonder that the sectarians of all shadings fail to understand its meaning. They operate by means of abstractions—an abstraction of imperialism and an abstraction of the socialist revolution. The question of the transition from real imperialism to real revolution; the question of how to mobilize the masses in the given historical situation for the conquest of power remains for these sterile wiseacres a book sealed with seven seals.

DEFENSE OF USSR

Piling one dire accusation indiscriminately on top of another, our critic declares that the slogan of an independent Ukraine serves the interests of the imperialists (!) and the Stalinists (!!) because it "completely negates the position of the defense of the Soviet Union." It is impossible to understand just why the "interests of the Stalinists" are dragged in.

But let us confine ourselves to the question of the defense of the USSR. This defense could be menaced by an independent Ukraine only if the latter were hostile not only to the bureaucracy but also to the USSR. However, given such a premise (obviously false), how can a socialist demand that a hostile Ukraine be retained within the framework of the USSR? Or does the question involve only the period of the national revolution?

Yet our critic apparently recognized the inevitability of a political revolution against the Bonapartist bureaucracy. Meanwhile this revolution, like every revolution, will undoubtedly present a certain danger from the standpoint of defense. What to do? **Had our critic really thought out the problem, he would have replied that such a danger is an inescapable historical risk which cannot be evaded, for under the rule of the Bonapartist bureaucracy the USSR is doomed. The very same reasoning equally and wholly applies to the revolutionary national uprising which represents nothing else but a single segment of the political revolution.**

It is noteworthy that the most serious argument against independence does not even enter the mind of our critic. The economy of the Soviet Ukraine enters integrally into this plan. The separation of the Ukraine threatens to break down the plan and to lower the productive forces. But this argument, too, is not decisive. An economic plan is not the holy of holies. If national sections within the federation, despite the unified plan, are pulling in opposite directions, it means that the plan does not satisfy them.

BUREAUCRATIC PLUNDER

A plan is the handiwork of men. It can be reconstructed in accordance with new boundaries. In so far as the plan is advantageous for the Ukraine she will herself desire and know how to reach the necessary economic agreement with the Soviet Union, just as she will be able to conclude the necessary military alliance.

Moreover, it is impermissible to forget that the plunder and arbitrary rule of the bureaucracy constitute an important integral part of the current economic plan, and exact a heavy toll from the Ukraine. The plan must be drastically revised first and foremost from this standpoint. The outlived ruling caste is systematically destroying the country's economy, the army and its culture; it is annihilating the flower of the population and preparing the ground for catastrophe. **The heritage of the revolution can be saved only by an overturn. The bolder and more resolute is the policy of the proletarian vanguard on the national question among others, all the more successful will be the revolutionary overturn, all the lower its overhead expenses.**

ROAD TO UNITY

The slogan of an independent Ukraine does not signify that the Ukraine will remain forever isolated, but only this, that she will again determine for herself and of her own free will the question of her interrelations with other sections of the Soviet Union and her western neighbors. . . .

There is every reason to assume tht in the event of the triumph of the world revolution the tendencies toward unity will immediately acquire enormous force, and that all Soviet republics will find the suitable forms of ties and collaboration. This goal will be achieved only provided the old and compulsory ties, and in consequence old boundaries, are completely destroyed; only provided each of the contracting parties is completely independent.

To speed and facilitate this process, to make possible a genuine brotherhood of the peoples in the future, the advanced workers of Great Russia must even now understand the causes for Ukranian separatism, as well as the latent power and historical lawfulness behind it, and they must without any reservation declare to the Ukrainian people that they are ready to support with all their might the slogan of an independent Soviet Ukraine in a joint struggle against the autocratic bureaucracy and against imperialism.

Polish Revolutionary Masses

Part of a demonstration of 250,000 Warsaw workers and students, the largest in Polish history, which cheered the news of the Gomulka government's defiance of the Kremlin. Mass demonstrations throughout Poland's industrial centers took place in support of the Hungarian workers' uprising.

McAvoy Debates CP, Praises SWP Record

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK, Oct. 26 — **"The greatest need today is to build an independent movement based on a socialist program. I have come to this conclusion after 20 years experience in the labor movement,"** Clifford T. McAvoy, former American Labor Party leader, declared tonight as he debated Albert Blumberg, National Legislative Director of the Communist Party, on the issue **"Left Wing Policy in the 1956 Election."** About 100 people attended the meeting, the first in a series sponsored by a newly-organized New York group, the Socialist Unity Forum.

Blumberg's defense of the Communist Party position of supporting the Democrats was largely a restatement of the Party's recent official declaration on election policy. In order for the left to become a part of the "mainstream of labor," Blumberg contended, it must actively support labor in "its main objective —defeat of the Cadillac Cabinet."

The Communist Party is "concentrating on the issues and is not endorsing any candidates," he insisted. However he added, "the members of the Communist Party are actively associating themselves with the activities of the mass organizations in the campaign."

Those who favor voting socialist, Blumberg said, held a viewpoint that he could understand and appreciate, even though he believed it was not the best way to "get closer" to the labor movement. But, he added, "I find it very difficult to understand Clifford McAvoy's position of supporting the Socialist Workers Party." Quoting a single paragraph from the SWP election platform which states that the Kremlin bureaucrats favor "co-existence" as a means of maintaining the status quo, Blumberg demanded to know of McAvoy how he could support a party which "opposes" coexistence.

In reply, McAvoy declared, "I believe in coexistence, but I don't believe in preserving the status quo. I conceive of coexistence as meaning freedom in each country for the people to choose their own form of government. I am against war between the East and West. But if you mean by coexistence the maintenance of the status quo, them I am against coexistence."

"The SWP is a party I can support," McAvoy said. "It rendered a major service by first exposing the Moscow Trials and the bureaucratic deformations in the Soviet Union. The SWP stands in the forefront of the radical movement today. It fought for Leninist democracy in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The present developments there give it a high moral standing. I am proud that despite the revilement and persecution, the SWP stuck by its tradition."

CLIFFORD T. McAVOY

Turning to Blumberg, McAvoy said "I agree that peace, civil rights and civil liberties are the main issues in this campaign. But if this is your program, how can you support candidates that oppose all these things?"

"Dobbs is the only candidate who takes a forthright position on these issues," McAvoy continued. "I think the section of the SWP platform on coexistence is awkwardly formulated, but the fact is that the SWP opposes the cold war and fights for genuine democracy. I agree with this."

"This is the only principled position for radicals to take in this electoin. There is no other way than socialism to winning peace, civil rights and civil liberties. To tail the Democrats with their stand on these issues is a betrayal of socialist principles and cannot build a socialist movement."

"It will take work and courage," McAvoy concluded, "to build a new socialist movement in America. The first step in that direction is to reject the 'lesser evil' theory and cast your vote for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party."

The chairman of the Socialist Unity Forum, Mike Zaslow, declared his support for the position of abstaining in the election. A vote for any of the socialist tickets, Zaslow contended, "will be a demonstration of the weakness of the left."

The purpose of the Socialist Unity Forum, Zaslow said, is to provide a platform for the various viewpoints in the left with a view towards aiding a future unification of left tendencies.

Zaslow and his supporters were until recently part of the group which publishes the magazine, American Socialist. Led by Bert Cochran, the "American Socialist" group broke from the Socialist Workers Party in 1953. The Zaslow group was notified by mail last month of its expulsion from the Cochran organization. Neither the Cochran or Zaslow group has made public the reason for the expulsion.

Cleveland
MILITANT FORUM

"Ten Days That Shook The World"
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"Viewpoint"

Mon., Nov. 5
FARRELL DOBBS
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1:00 - 1:30 P.M.
'Reportesrs Roundup

Sun., Nov 11
JOYCE COWLEY
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12:00 - 12:30 P.M.
"Between the Lines"

THE MILITANT

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"I can't seem to find ANY of those Socialist Workers Party candidates here."

The Captain Mulzac Story -- A 45-Year Battle for Rights

By Fred Halstead

A small item appeared in a national magazine this month taking note of an important anniversary in the civil rights fight of the Negro people. Fourteen years ago, on Oct. 27, 1942 in the port of Los Angeles, a 10,000-ton Liberty ship called the Booker T. Washington was turned over to the command of a Negro, Captain Hugh Mulzac, the first of his race in modern times to become master of a United States ship.

Also this month, in Washington, D. C. a hearing was held in the Federal District Court on an important case in the fight to defend civil liberties. The hearing involved a group of seamen who asked that the U.S. Coast Guard be required to prove its charge that by going to sea they would jeopardize the security of the United States. One of these seamen is Captain Hugh Mulzac, former skipper of the Booker T. Washington.

The first Negro in modern times to command a United States ship commands her no longer, and is forbidden to sail, because the Coast Guard says he associated with "subversives."

CAPTAIN MULZAC

To find out what lay behind this charge, I decided to talk to Captain Mulzac himself. He told me his story illustrating each point with official documents, letters, and newspaper clippings. Here is his story in his own words, as nearly as I remember them with the aid of the notes I took last week at his home in Queens, N. Y.

MATE ON BRITISH SHIPS

"I was born in Kingston in the British West Indies so I was around ships all my life, but my first voyage was in 1907, at the age of 19, as an ordinary seaman. I studied navigation while at sea, and went to maritime schools in England. I sailed as a mate under the English flag before coming to the United States in 1911. I tried to get on U.S. ships as a mate, but I was told that Negroes could only sail in the stewards department.

"I had to work, so I became an excellent ship's cook. I kept trying to get on as an officer.

"I finally made it during World War I, when they were so short of officers they couldn't move some of the convoys out. I became a citizen as a result of service as a Merchant Marine officer during World War I. I obtained my master's papers in 1920, but the war was over and they wouldn't let me sail as an officer anymore."

"I sat in the hall in Baltimore watching everyone else get ships. Finally I protested to the officer in charge. 'I am an American citizen with Master's papers. I have been waiting here for months, and others getting ships have only been here a few hours,' I said.

"'Listen you, he told me, 'as long as there is one white man here you aren't going to get on as any kind of officer.'

"I protested until he threw me bodily out of the hall. Then I protested to the authorities. For the next 22 years I protested. I wrote dozens of letters, sat in all kinds of offices. I went to the NAACP, visited Walter White in person many times. No one would help. Meanwhile I sailed as an unlicensed seaman. While it existed I sailed as an officer on Marcus Garvey's all-Negro Black Star Line.

"Where there was a union I joined. They wouldn't let me in the Masters, Mates and Pilots, but I joined the National Maritime Union. During the 1936 strike, when the MM&P needed pickets, they promised I could join. I picketed for the MM&P in the day time and for the NMU at night."

REFUSES JIM CROW SHIP

"When World War II came along, I increased my efforts. I joined the only organization that would help me, the National Negro Congress. They wrote many letters and got a lot of publicity. Finally, in September 1942, when the March On Washington Movement was at its height, I got an interview with Captain MacCauly of the War Shipping Administration.

"Captain MacCauly said: 'It has been decided to launch a ship in California named the Booker T. Washington. Marian Anderson is going to christen her, and Paul Robeson will be a sponsor. Captain Mulzac, you would just fit in nicely as captain of that ship. Could you get a colored crew?' I told him I did not want a Jim Crow ship. He said, 'After all these years and all this fuss we give you a ship and now you don't want it. You're not being reasonable.'

"'I will not take the ship under these terms,' I said. 'I am an American citizen with master's papers. Give me an appointment like any other captain and I will find a crew.' We notified the Negro newspapers, and under the pressure of public opinion the Administration finally agreed. With the aid of the unions I found the crew, white and colored. It was the first fully integrated ship in the U.S. Merchant Marine, and, in all modesty, there was none better.

"I skippered that ship for five years through thick and thin, and delivered the goods without a single hitch. The Government, the ports at which we called, the Navy, the unions, the troops we carried, they all commended us. We were a floating advertisement of democracy in action. We proved integration worked. What is more, we lived like human beings."

SCREENED

"We tried to make the troops we carried comfortable, with none of the usual indifference. We had classes. I taught the youngsters navigation. We had a ship's newspaper.

"I knew that some people didn't like the way I ran that ship, but we did too damn good a job for them to say anything about it then. In 1947 I left the ship to enter the hospital. Then my wife got sick and died. It was 1950 before I was ready to go back to sea, but by that time the Coast Guard had begun the screening of 'subversives.' They said they screened me because I had belonged to the National Negro Congress and some other organizations around it, and because I knew Paul Robeson.

"I belonged to those organizations because they helped me get my ship. They no longer exist, but are on the 'subversive list.' They certainly never plotted to overthrow the Government. Paul Robeson is a personal friend. I refuse to make an enemy of a man because his ideas are not popular."

"The case has been in the hands of a lawyer since 1950. Early this year, I helped organize a Seamen's Defense Committee with the aid of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. The SDC is publicizing my case and others and getting them into the courts. I am an American citizen with master's papers, and I am fighitng for my rights."

The address of the Seamen's Defense Committee, which is in need of funds, is 313 8th Ave., New York, N. Y.

Michigan Court Aids Move Against Independent Vote

DETROIT, Oct. 22—The cause of free elections suffered another blow here as the Socialist Workers Party was defeated in its efforts to get the Wayne County Circuit Court to uphold the right of Michigan citizens to write in the names of Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates on the state ballot in this year's election.

The state law clearly provides for write-in votes. But the liberal Democratic administration of Gov. Williams has ruled that these laws do not apply to the highest office in the land. (Earlier this year Democratic state officials arbitrarily ruled the Socialist Workers and Socialist Labor parties off the Michigan ballot even though they had met the necessary legal requirements.)

Harold Norris, civil liberties attorney, represented the SWP candidates in the Circuit Court, where Judge R. M. Toms upheld the argument advanced by the administration's attorney to the effect that the court has no right to interpret the state law.

Financial and time factors prevented an appeal to the state Supreme Court. Despite the ruling, the SWP asked its Michigan supporters to express their support of socialism and their protest against attacks on free elections by writing in Farrell Dobbs for President, Myra Tanner Weiss for Vice-President and Rita Shaw for Governor.

Detroit Fri. Night Socialist Forum

ELECTION POST MORTUM

An analysis of the election results and what they show about the future of American politics and the fight to build an independent labor party.

Fri., Nov. 9 — 8 PM

EUGENE V. DEBS HALL
3737 Woodward, 2nd Floor

Our Readers Take the Floor

Negro Neighbors Look to Socialism

Editor:

There are many indications today that a large number of people are thinking seriously of Socialism as an antidote for the present two party system.

This thinking has not yet crystalized, in many cases, in a well defined and coherent manner; but the question of Socialism is certainly uppermost in the thoughts of the American workers and Negro people.

Especially is this true after the people have witnessed the betrayal of the civil rights issue by the conventions of both the Democrat and Republican parties.

My wife and I live in the Negro and working class district and until recently were on the Democratic "band wagon" trying to sell Stevenson and his cohorts to our fellow workers. We were getting considerable resistance to the Democratic Party program by many of the people in our community, plus a lot of apathy and indifference. After the Democrats' convention, which we witnessed on TV, we too became disgusted with them and decided we would wait and see what the Republicans came up with. After also witnessing the Republicans on TV, we were convinced that neither of the old parties had anything to offer us. Therefore, it became very easy for us to see the propriety of voting socialist and boycotting both the old parties.

Our case is in no wise a unique one, we have found to our surprise (and joy) that many of our neighbors whom we failed to sell the Democrats' line either agree with our present position or at least listen attentively to our arguments in favor of voting for the SWP candidates.

Just this afternoon, a Negro acquaintance of ours dropped in for a chat and the talk naturally turned to politics. To our surprise, as we had always considered him very conservative, he began immediately to enlighten us that the two old parties were nothing but "Siamese Twins," and if we elected a Democrat we only got a Republican anyhow as it was impossible to separate the "Siamese Twins" from each other.

He continued to tell us that we must bend every effort to build a Labor Party that would include the Negro people and poor farmers. When we gave him the pamphlet containing the SWP election platform and a copy of the Militant he broke down and confessed he had been listening to Dobbs and Weiss on his TV and that he would urge all his friends to vote SWP.

Most union men whom I have approached with SWP leaflets have listened with an open mind, have asked questions and raised some objections more in a friendly spirit of free discussion than in a spirit of condemnation.

The Seattle branch of the SWP has gotten out a very good leaflet against the current attempt of Big Business to put over Initiative 198 (Right to Scab) here in Washington State. I find this leaflet very helpful in reaching many of my union brothers, as it ties up the question of the class struggle with the only possible alternative — Socialism.

In my estimation the time was never better than RIGHT NOW to propagate the theory of scientific Socialism among the working class and the Negro people precisely because of the mass disillusion as to the role of the two old parties and the mass resistance to the labor and CP bureaucrats, especially since the Khrushchev revelations and the betrayal of the Democratic Party convention.

J. B.,
Seattle, Wash.

A Voting Problem

Editor:

With the election coming closer, I am still faced with the problem of voting for a Congressional candidate of socialist sympathies. There is no such candidate, of course, and certainly not on the ballot. Here in the 8th District especially, it is important to cast a vote against, considering that Rep. Smith is the author of that well-known act. His Republican opponent is making an admirable effort to out-Smith Smith, and a vote for him is merely a vote for more of the same.

Do you have any name to recommend for a write-in vote, a resident of Virginia, of course? If necessary, send me the name of someone of another of the socialist parties, since to me the most important thing is to cast a ballot for socialist protest. I would prefer to vote for a member of your party; even though I do not agree with your program completely, it comes closer to representing what I would like to vote for than do the other two.

G. E. H.,
Charlottesville, Va.

"Bite of Wisdom"

Editor:

I am happy to present you with the short bite of wisdom composed late the other evening, while vainly attempting to write a book, that I hope may some day help the socialist cause. I rather thought it expresses the socialist economy quite well.

THE PERFECT ECONOMY OF HUMANITY

When mankind labors united, and receives the full fruits of his labor, then a perfect economy of balance exists, the Brotherhood of Man fulfilled, in peace, equality, justice and plenty for all. . .

A. E. P.,
Clearwater, Fla.

Writer Disagrees With Editorial

Editor:

I was interested in your editorial, "The Issue of the H-Bomb Tests." I was pleased to know that this, undoubtedly the most important issue not only of the U.S. election campaign, but of the entire world, was mentioned in your columns.

I do not know if you, honorable editor, are aware, that on the basis of bombs already exploded and tested, that we are "1/1000th on the way to the brink of the end of this planet." (Uebell's statement.)

You mention that the SWP acts out of principle: is your implication intended to claim that Stevenson is not acting out of principle when he declares to make the end of H-Bomb tests the "main issue of the campaign"?

Every Marxist knows what Stevenson represents. But it would be folly to consider his statement unprincipled. Would that the SWP came out as forcefully for ending H-Bomb tests so that the plans of revolutionary socialism could have their realization in a world which still remains healthy, a world in which people would have all their faculties to be able to do the important task which both Lenin and Trotsky outlined.

I would support the SWP, but I won't be so politically negated by over politicalization as to deny the importance of Stevenson's statement for world survival.

Yours for socialism,

G. N.,
Winnipeg Can.

Left Paper Defined

Editor:

In an otherwise excellent article by Henry Gitano in your issue of Oct. 15, the French weekly newspaper France-Observateur is referred to as a "liberal weekly." This is highly inaccurate. France-Observateur is a **socialist** weekly, standing substantially to the left of both the Socialist and Communist parties of France. For instance, it has consistently opposed the French slaughter of the Algerian people, and denounced the CP for voting confidence in the Mollet government on this question. It is not a **revolutionary** socialist journal: it calls for a "popular front," for instance. But it represents a relatively healthy current within the French left and stands immeasurably above any variety of liberalism.

Fraternally,
Shane Mage

Action Packed Tour Reported By Myra Weiss

The following are excerpts from a letter received from Myra Tanner Weiss, Socialist Workers candidate for Vice-President, who is now on a national campaign tour. The letter gives an informative account of her activities and at the same time provides an impressive picture of a fighting socialist campaigner.

MYRA TANNER WEISS

"On the plane to Tallahassee to cover the trial there I got into quite a discussion with a Florida state employe. He made the complaint which seems to be common among Southern whites — that the Negroes are changed. He also said he was afraid to speak to Negroes he's known all his life for fear of being called a 'nigger-lover.' He said he was not a member of the WCC but he wouldn't guarantee that in six months he wouldn't be. The pressure is terrific he said.

"And before he'd let his grandchild to go to school with 'nigros' he would start shooting. I told him he better have plenty of ammunition because he'd not only have to shoot Negroes, he'd have to shoot me and a lot of others like me. This seemed to shock him quite a bit. He complained about the hypocrisy of Northerners. But this line of argument didn't get him very far with someone who wasn't interested in defending Northern forms of discrimination. At any rate he asked me to send him a copy of the Militant with my article on the trial.

"That was my first touch of the deep South. I took the limousine to the hotel and checked in. I asked the bellman where the trial would be and we talked for quite a while. He said he would be at the right trial and was anxious to explain the boycott movement to me.

TALLAHASSEE TALKS

"After the trial I went to the mass meeting of the Inter Civic Council which was jam-packed. And after the meeting I spent several hours discussing with some of the people. Finally got back to the hotel about 1 A.M. with a pretty bad cold. By the time I got the trial story written it was 3 A.M. and I had to get up at five to get to the airport.

"By the time I reached Philadelphia, I was feeling pretty awful. From the airport I went right to the Universalist church to speak. Mrs. Cozzini of the Socialist Labor Party was also there. **Aside from attacking us as no different from the Democrats and Republicans, she was so foolish as to ridicule our support to a "reform" movement like Tallahassee. Needless to say that was deeply resented by the Negroes present and a great many other besides.**

"I left the church in time to make the Steve Allison midnight broadcast. I finally got to bed about 3 A.M., so I still didn't get much sleep before the press conference the next morning. The debate with the professor at Temple that afternoon on Suez was a clear victory for us and some of the students stayed for several hours afterward for discussion with me.

DENVER MEETING

"The public meeting Saturday night was very good, but I didn't get out until 12:30 A.M. and, again, had to catch the plane for Denver at 5:30 A.M. I was met at the airport by half a dozen people from the Socialist Forum which organized a meeting for me for that night.

They put out a beautiful leaflet which was widely distributed in the workers' neighborhoods. The meeting was well attended, with a number of supporters of the CP and SP in the audience. It was a good meeting with a lively discussion period. After the meeting we went to a home for more discussion.

"Two of our Denver friends took off work the next morning to see me off to Seattle where I now am. Apparently a good night's sleep was all I needed. I'm ready to sail into the rest of the tour which should be as exciting and filled with events and new faces as the first part was. — Myra."

COWLEY ON "CIRCLE OF GUILT"

CIRCLE OF GUILT by Fredric Wertham, M. D., Rinehart & Co., New York, 1956, 211 pp., $3.00

By Joyce Cowley
SWP Candidate for U.S. Senator, New York

This book is a study of the "model boy" murder in the spring of 1955. The Militant first exposed this case in two articles, drawing attention to its racist character and the prejudice of newspaper reports. But Circle of Guilt is more than a study — it is a challenge and a demand for action, not only in the case of Frank Santana, but all the boys like him growing in the savagery and violence of New York streets.

All the newspapers told the same story. William Blankenship, "a clean-cut American boy from a respectable family," was going home from the movies and was shot down on the street by Frank Santana, a Puerto Rican "hoodlum" of 17 who mistakenly identified him as a member of a rival gang, the Golden Guineas. The press and public officials became hysterical in their condemnation of juvenile delinquents, especially Puerto Rican delinquents. The New York Times headline: HOODLUM, 17, HELD IN SLAYING OF BOY, was the most restrained. Santana was described as a "dirty, filthy hoodlum" and his mother was referred to as the "hoodlum's mother."

One news magazine said: "It was just one more arrogant, smirking young hoodlum who knows no law."

Other accounts called Santana a "marauder," a "gangster," a "swaggering teen-age gunman." Public feeling against Puerto Ricans ran high. Frank Santana's family was threatened and his younger brother was afraid to go to school. Puerto Rican boys picked up by the police were questioned, threatened, intimidated. Eighty-nine extra policemen were sent to this section of the Bronx, described as "one of the most wretched neighborhoods in the city."

The press demanded the death penalty and the Daily News suggested: "More and bigger reform schools and maybe Junior Sing-Sings complete with Junior electric chairs" to combat juvenile crime.

The boy's lawyers asked Dr. Wertham to make a psychiatric examination of Frank Santana. Dr. Wertham tells how he talked to the boy and gradually learned the truth of what happened that evening. William Blankenship did belong to a gang that beat up Puerto Rican boys. Santana had been threatened a few days earlier and carried a gun because he was frightened. "A Puerto Rican boy threatened by other boys," says Dr. Wertham, "can well have realistic fear, not only of being beaten but being seriously hurt. The whole subject of Puerto Rican youths as victims of attacks has been kept quiet. Frequently these attacks are not cleared up and the attackers are not traced."

This reversal of the story was later confirmed. When Frank Santana's case came to trial, the District Attorney no longer asked for the death penalty, and admitted that William Blankenship was probably the aggressor. It is even possible, according to Dr. Wertham, that the gun went off accidently. The D.A. apparently learned this a few days after the murder. But he made no effort to correct the press, which was screaming for the electric chair for Santana. He let his assistant explain:

"We were under no obligation to set the newspapers straight. In the long run the truth would have prevailed. This morning was the first opportuntiy I had to do anything about it." False reports inflamed public opinion, and Puerto Ricans were terrorized, but: "How can you interfere with the press? I would be accused of tampering."

Dr. Wertham does a great deal more than clarify the facts in this case. In one chapter, "The Message of Solferino," he analyzes the interrelation of historical, sociological and psychological factors behind such a case. This includes a sharp attack on the methods of many psychiatrists and social service agencies who dodge their responsibility by statements that juvenile delinquency is very complex, a great deal of research is needed, etc., and who consequently take no action **right now** to correct conditions obviously bad for all children.

In another chapter, he studies the Puerto Rican community in New York (starting with the annexation of Puerto Rico by the United States), which gives the sociological framework of the Blankenship-Santana tragedy. He shows how both boys were victims of racial prejudice:

"Much of what is said about the violence of juvenile gangs, especially officially," he says, "is somewhat removed from the living reality. In an official directive to the personnel of a junior high school, the causes of conflict among gangs are enumerated, but one of the most potent and dynamic causes is left out. **This is race-nationality prejudice and antagonism, which is the direct reflection of adult life, adult values and adult tensions. When these juveniles war on the same people their elders express prejudice against, they feel consciously or unconsciously that they are acting with the adults' approval and according to the mores of the community."**

Frank Santana never had a trial. The psychiatric study in which Dr. Wertham analyzed the boy's personality disturbances and all the different factors which led to the shooting of Blankenship, was never heard by a jury. Although he probably did not understand exactly what he was doing, Santana pleaded guilty to second-degree murder and the judge gave him the maximum sentence of 25 years to life.

Dr. Wertham, in a recent radio interview, said he tried to find another word for "lynch," but it was the only one which fit this case. Frank Santana, a boy who might have helped to a normal life, will be in jail for at least 20 years, when it will obviously be too late. In spite of startling new information, the press continued to refer to him as a "hoodlum," called him "swarthy," an obvious allusion to his being Puerto Rican, said he was "hot-headed" and of "low intelligence."

Dr. Wertham concludes: "There was a social motive why the community did not want a trial. If it had looked into this boy's mind, it would have had to look at itself. . . It was easier to send the boy away without a trial and let things be as they are."

This book should be given wide circulation by all labor, civil liberties and minority groups.

[The Militant carried articles by Joyce Cowley on the Santana case, May 23 and June 27, 1955 —Ed.]

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How can a worker better his economic conditions and more effectivey fight for lasting peace? How can the Negroes and other minorities advance their struggle for complete political, social and economic equality? What is the program of the Socialist Workers Party? For clear-cut answers to these questions get a three-month introductory subscription to The Militant for only 50 cents.

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